

Peace News

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Trafalgar Square Demonstration

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can prevent
mass suicide"**
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MP

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every
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**PEACE
NEWS**

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Labour and unarmed defence — page four

WILL LABOUR RISE TO THIS CHALLENGE?

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The full text reads:

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"The Governments concerned are so filled with mutual suspicion that they are not so much seeking disarmament as to find some excuse for blaming opposing countries for the breakdown in the discussions.

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But Dr. Soper warned that it was no use merely cheering views with which we agreed and abominating actions with which we disagreed.

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"I am convinced that the situation requires one great nation to have the courage and sanity to declare that it is 'contracting out' of the suicidal competition in hydrogen bombs; that it will make no more tests; and that it will turn over to peaceful atomic purposes the nuclear material in the bombs already made.

"This would have a dramatic psychological effect. It would cut the vicious circle, lessen international tension, and produce the atmosphere in which agreement became possible.

"It is encouraging to find that nearly sixty resolutions on the Labour Party conference agenda specifically press for unilateral action.

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Dr. Soper said he wanted to see the extension of the Welfare State to the rest of the world, "and you can only extend it when you disarm."

He hoped for the "quick demise" of the Conservative Government. But he warned the Labour Party that if they wanted to solve the problem, they would have to have "a dynamic new policy."

A new tack

Three Labour MPs — Mr. Konni Zilliacus, Mrs. Barbara Castle, and Mr. Harold Davies, who took the place of Mr. Ian Mikardo—called for:

A new method of dealing with international disputes; the closing of British airfields to America; and the return of a Labour Government.

Said Mrs. Castle: "Let us find for the first time some other weapon and force with which to arbitrate our difficulties.

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Penner Brockway MP writes every week in PEACE NEWS

see page five



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I HAVE been asked to continue making representations on behalf of the South-West African petitioners who have been denied the opportunity of going to the United Nations themselves.

"Since two German residents of South-West Africa, Mr. Wilhelm Heyn and Dr. Joachim Seegert, have written a letter published by the United Nations, accusing me of 'gross falsehoods concerning conditions in South-West Africa' without specifying what these falsehoods are, I have appealed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee to allow these two to appear before the Committee and state their case together with the Africans who I represent and whose spokesmen in South-West Africa have been trying to get the necessary permits to leave for the United Nations.

"I trust the full truth of conditions in South-West Africa will then be revealed and also that the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice will be sought by those former members of the League of Nations which entrusted South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa as a member of the Commonwealth 'for and on behalf of His Britannic Majesty.'"

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Their statement reads:

"We strongly recommend that all Constituency Labour Parties give serious consideration to supporting Resolution No. 142 for the Annual Conference of the Labour Party proposed by the Portsmouth (South) Constituency Labour Party."

"It reads: 'This Conference calls for a Royal Commission to be set up to con-

*The full text of "Forward from War" is published on page two. It is available in pamphlet form from Terence J. Comerford, General Secretary, Labour Peace Fellowship, 9R, Newmarket Avenue, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 2d. each, plus postage.

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"(The remainder of the mass of motions on disarmament may also share this view, though they mainly urge the Government to press for agreement to end hydrogen-bomb tests without making this agreement conditional on agreement on more complicated issues. This stand has, of course, been already adopted both by the Socialist International, at Vienna, and by the Parliamentary Labour Party, at Westminster, but has gone unheeded.)

NO DEFENCE

"Certainly there are risks involved in disarmament by example, as unilateral action might be called. But the present policy of the arms race incurs more than risks. It means the certainty of war and the destruction of our island.

"It might be argued that to give up our nuclear weapons would be to leave Britain defenceless. We might as well admit that we already are defenceless.

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FORWARD FROM WAR

Disarmament by example — the only way for Labour

"There is at present no means of providing adequate defence for the people of this country against the consequences of an attack with nuclear weapons... even a dozen enemy bombers getting through with Megaton bombs could inflict widespread devastation."—1957 British Defence White Paper.

SOMETHING new, something big, is stirring inside the British Labour Movement. More than 150 resolutions on this year's Labour Party Conference Agenda deal with foreign policy and disarmament. Of these 127 are specifically on the H-bomb.

They express the awareness that mankind is rushing toward a precipice from which there is no return. Their general view is that the British Government should press for the immediate halting of H-tests as a step towards abolition of A and H-tests, with no conditions attached.

DISARMAMENT TALKS BREAK DOWN

It is quite clear, however, that the Tory Government has no such intention. It is equally clear that, because of mutual suspicion, the recent disarmament talks reached a deadlock. The five Powers were not genuinely seeking agreement, but only an excuse for blaming their opponents for a failure.

Many of the Labour Party resolutions anticipate this situation and go on to pose the question: what then? Many give this answer:

Let Britain have the courage and sanity to declare she will end this suicidal race in H-bombs and give the lead the world is looking for. Let her declare that she will immediately stop all nuclear tests, dismantle her weapons and hand over her stocks of fissionable material for peaceful purposes.

This way, and this way alone, can break the vicious circle, lessen world tension and produce the atmosphere in which agreement is possible. We are certain this lead would have a dramatic, psychological effect in banishing suspicion.

This would be the way in which our country could show true greatness.

RISKS FOR PEACE

Certainly there are risks involved in this policy—but the present policy of the arms race incurs more than risks. It means the certainty of war and the destruction of our island. All history shows that this has been the inevitable outcome of an arms race. The existence of nuclear weapons is said to be a deterrent to war, yet during the

By Frank Allaun, MP; Reg Moss, MP; James Avery Joyce; Ron Huzzard

James Avery Joyce, LLB, BSc; Joyce Butler, MP; George Thomas, MP will speak on "The H-bomb—A challenge," a meeting organised by the LPF to be held at the Robertson Hall, Ship St., Brighton, with Victor Yates, MP in the chair, at 7.45 p.m., Monday, Sept. 30.

paying weekly £2 3s. 0d. towards the cost of armaments.

During the last five years "defence" has swallowed 10 per cent of the national product. The burden of armaments is making Britain much poorer than it need be.

INFLATION AT HOME

The devotion of vast human and material resources to military enterprise is a major cause of inflation, which the Government conveniently fails to publicise. Tens of thousands of productive workers are either in the forces or engaged in supplying them with equipment.

Britain is desperately short of scientists and technicians, yet a high percentage of our scientific manpower is employed on the development of destructive weapons. In 1956 £204,000,000, out of a total of £235,000,000 spent on scientific research, was absorbed on "defence".

We are paying a stiff price for war preparations that offer us no real defence at all. While this fruitless military expenditure continues, two-thirds of mankind live in poverty.

The world cost of armaments is £35,000,000,000 a year. The richer nations are unable to help the poorer whilst this waste continues.

POVERTY ABROAD

The population of the world is increasing at the rate of 80 every minute, 45 of whom are in Asia. In Britain the infant mortality rate is 26.5 per thousand of the population, but in India it is 119, in Malaya it is 81.6, in Yugoslavia 110.2.

The average expectation of life in Britain is 69.8 years but in India it is only 35 years.

In Britain virtually everyone can read and write but in India and Egypt only one in five is literate and in Nigeria and Iran only one in ten.

According to the Board of Trade Journal for July 12, the people of Britain consume well over 3,000 calories each, in energy-giving foods each day, but in India the figure is only 1,850.

For a minority of the human race life is relatively comfortable, for most human beings it is nasty, brutish

If military preparations could be substantially reduced in Britain and throughout the world, then our troubles at home and abroad could be solved.

The choice has to be made now. There is no time for procrastination.

End the cold war, strengthen UNO

"We are in no camp and in no alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill, which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none."—Pandit Nehru

IT is time to cease giving lip service to the United Nations. We must now adopt a foreign policy based four-square on an expanded and universalised United Nations. It is the interest of all powers, great and small, to bring this about.

At the time of the Suez madness, the voice of British Labour blended with the voices of "We, the peoples" and called for a decisive halt to the gunboat diplomacy and the "what we have we hold" philosophy of a Conservative government.

END THE POWER BLOCS

Labour should now move forward from the position.

It should enter into partnership with India and other "uncommitted" nations to rebuild the UN as a true Parliament of Man, and an effective alternative to the obsolete power-blocs, which now divide the world and limit the usefulness of the UN.

This means that NATO and its dubious military counterparts—all outside the UN—should be progressively liquidated, thus making possible the dissolution of the Warsaw and similar rival alliances.

The much-needed strengthening of the UN, with its emphasis on peaceful procedures and give and take psychology, should steadily replace the blatant follies of the Cold War.

A NEUTRAL BELT

In Europe there must be a withdrawal of all foreign troops and air-bases coupled with the peaceful re-unification of a neutralised Germany.

The establishment of an "uncommitted" area across the centre of the Continent should be a major aim of Labour's foreign policy, looking towards the freeing of the satellites, which recent events seem likely to portend if Western military pressure is relaxed.

Alongside such political changes, Labour must give open and honest support to the UN agencies working for Europe as a whole, particularly the Economic Commission for

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Will other nations want to drop H-bombs on us if they know we are no longer a base from which H-bombs would drop on them? On the contrary we should be less liable to be obliterated. Would the Red Army or any other army descend upon us? It is very doubtful.

But even if they did there are other and less suicidal ways of resistance. As Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, who himself has a military background, has shown, the terrible development of military weapons has ruled out defence by warfare.

The alternative is non-violent resistance to oppression. As King-Hall says: humanity must break the thought barrier if we are to avoid extinction. Non-violent resistance has many victories to its credit, including the struggle for Indian freedom under Gandhi's leadership.

DISARM OR PERISH

The Labour Peace Fellowship believes we must disarm or perish. The lead should be given by the British Labour Party. This would be acting in the spirit of Keir Hardie instead of merely praising it.

All it needs is the determination to start the disarmament race. Today we can and must make real the age-old dream of turning swords into ploughshares.

The cost of war and the cost of peace

"The poverty stricken people of the world, who form two-thirds of the human race, are more interested in the 'war on want' than in treaties and political boundaries, or the relative merits of Communism and capitalism."—Lord Boyd Orr

BRITAIN today is spending £1,420,000,000 a year on military defence. This is £2,700 a minute or 10s. 9d. per head of the population per week. The average family—man, wife and two children—is

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For a minority of the human race life is relatively comfortable, for most human beings it is nasty, brutish and short. The waste of resources on "defence" perpetuates this grinding poverty in poorer countries.

The United Nations proposal to establish a special fund for economic development (SUNFED) has not been implemented because Britain and other powers plead that they cannot spare money from "defence". At Geneva it was stated recently that the world is spending 340 times as much on "defence" as would be needed to start SUNFED with an initial capital of £100,000,000.

The Labour Peace Fellowship welcomes the declared aim of the Labour Party to devote 1 per cent of Britain's annual income to aid undeveloped countries.

This will amount to only £160 million—a small amount compared with our present armament expenditure. We hope that the next Labour Government will implement this policy without delay and ensure that the 1 per cent is a minimum figure that will be stepped up as defence costs are rapidly reduced.

AID, NOT EXPLOITATION

Investment in under-developed countries is frequently directed into channels which yield a high rate of profit—oil, rubber, tin and minerals. Where such investment occurs the poorer countries actually lose vast sums every year.

Gunnar Myrdal states in his Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions: "there is actually a steady capital flight going on from under-developed areas which, in a realistic analysis should be counted against what there is of capital inflow into them."

THE CHOICE

Mankind has travelled a long road marked by blood and tears and has now reached a point where the road forks.

By one road we stagger with our ever-mounting armaments towards total destruction in nuclear war; by the other road, if we dare take it, there is a chance of survival with increasing prosperity, as the resources of the richer countries are used increasingly to help the poorer.

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Alongside such political changes, Labour must give open and honest support to the UN agencies working for Europe as a whole, particularly the Economic Commission for Europe. The so-called "Common-Market" and Euratom schemes must be widened in scope. At present they exclude half of Europe and perpetuate the division of Germany.

In the Middle East the success of the UN Emergency Force, relying mainly of moral force and maintaining "neutrality" between the hostile forces, points the way to further progress through international co-operation, as an alternative to either Russian penetration or the make-belief Eisenhower doctrine.

ECONOMIC PLAN NEEDED

Britain should press for a comprehensive plan for the Middle East, covering refugees, disputed frontiers, "rights of way", and economic development. This is the real basis of a permanent settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbours. It must be under United Nations planning and supervision.

The establishment of SUNFED together with the UN's regional development agencies should enable projects like the Aswan dam and Jordan Valley scheme to be put in hand. These long term projects are of major importance to the people of Britain, and of the whole world.

A stable peace is now recognised to be a result of constructive social and economic enterprises no less than the absence of political rivalries.

AN UNRIVALLED OPPORTUNITY

The SEATO treaty, like the Baghdad Pact, is an irritant that invites counter-moves by Russia. It is making a settlement of the Kashmir dispute more difficult. Action through the UN, not military power blocs, should be the basis of Britain's policy in the Middle and Far East. Communist China, representing 600 million people, should be brought into UN without delay.

When Labour next takes office it will have an unrivalled opportunity of showing boldness and imagination in its foreign policy. It can prove that the principles of democratic socialism when applied to foreign affairs can lead to a world of peace, freedom and abundance.

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TENSION IN THE COPPERBELT

THE news spotlight returns to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt. As I write armed police are standing by in the mining town of Luanshya in case trouble breaks out in the African compound where the miners live.

"We are ready for anything that might happen," a senior police official told the Press.

This new outbreak of tension on the strike-torn Copperbelt has been created by the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress and the African Mineworkers' Union.

It is believed that the eight union leaders arrested at midnight in their homes a year ago during the emergency are working in conjunction with the Congress, which wants more control of union affairs and policy.

The exiled leaders are said to be plotting the overthrow of the Copperbelt's "moderate" ruler of 35,000 union Africans—Mr. Lawrence Katilungu.

The first sign of the opposition to his leadership was a riot at Nchanga last week in which Katilungu's right-hand man, deputy union secretary Gabriel Mushikwa, was badly hurt.

Mr. John Gaunt, leader of the (European) Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia, spoke recently to the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, about "growing lawlessness" in the territory.

My impression of Mr. Gaunt—and I have met him many times—is that he would be happier in the Union of South Africa. His politics are pro-segregation and discrimination—and most of his public speeches have an anti-African bias.

Their complaint

The African Daily News reported that, at a meeting of the African Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union in Bulawayo, workers from one large Bulawayo factory complained they were assaulted if they made a mistake with their work.

Other complaints were that large

GOOD NEWS

It was a very great encouragement to get back from our Summer Conference at Borth to

amounts of their wages were deducted if they arrived late—and that workers going off sick lost their wages even if they had a doctor's certificate.

An official answer to the last complaint might have been uttered during the early days of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Said the European secretary of the Matabeleland Clothing Manufacturers' Association, a certain Mr. Eliasov:

"That Africans off sick receive no wages is quite true—but only for the first

Basil Delaine's Central African Commentary

three days. It is to reduce absenteeism, and it has achieved that object."

Not wanted

A bearded, paralysed barrister from London, Mr. J. E. MacLellan-Shields, who was recently given temporary asylum in Northern Rhodesia, may be deported from the Federation in a few days—unless he leaves voluntarily or manages to persuade the Federal Home Affairs Department that he can make a substantial living in the country.

It seems that Home Affairs officials think

the bearded barrister is a bad financial bet because of his deformity.

Yet in his attempts to get a resident's permit, Mr. MacLellan-Shields has offered to deposit his full fare home and he has guaranteed he will not be a liability.

This unwanted man from Great Britain who during the last war was an RAF rear-gunner and parachute instructor—some weeks ago had to camp under canvas between Makambo (Congo) and the Northern Rhodesia customs barrier because neither country would allow him in.

I should like to see Britain's "Central African Affairs" MP, the jovial Mr. "Jimmy" Johnson, take this matter up in the House of Commons.

The cynics

From Salisbury, the capital of the Federation, comes the information, contained in the annual report of the Federal Director of Information, that the British Press "is giving more and more space" to news from the Federation.

The last paragraph of the report states: "Certain left-wing newspapers and periodicals continued to be cynical of the Federation's affairs—otherwise the Federation received a most favourable Press."

Excuse my cynical laughter.

Magaretel Brooks reports on the Peace Pledge Union's summer conference at Borth which discussed

UN WITHOUT VIOLENCE

A UNITED NATIONS, without powers of violence and coercion, but relying on functional activities to heal, feed and educate the peoples towards universal brotherhood, was welcomed as a dream of a world-order by members of the Peace Pledge Union at their summer conference at Pantyfedwen, Borth.

The progress of the United Nations from its inception as a community of belligerents to its far-flung claim of establishing a control that would secure peace for all, was surveyed very fully by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU. That the conditions necessary for world-government would be fulfilled when that was achieved,

age between East Germany and West Germany as one of economics and sheer need and not at all as one of disagreement or enmity between Germans on the two sides of the Iron Curtain. The solution, he said, was undoubtedly for economic aid to raise the standard of living in East Germany. To let the matter take its course was to endanger the peace of Europe and the world.

Moral authority

A second lecture was given by Stuart Morris. Under the title "The Arm of the Law" he related the law to the United Nations and concluded: "Once the traditional belief in violence can be broken down the day will not be far distant when it will

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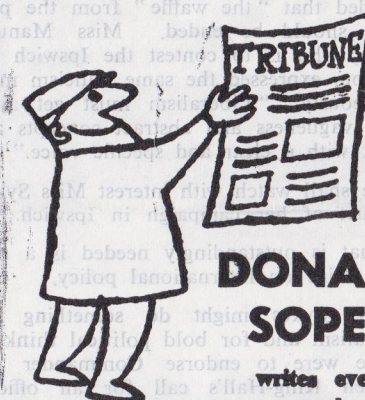
PEACE NEWS

"Books for Africa" Appeal

Text books, up to School Certificate standard, and books of all kinds for library use, are urgently needed for African students at the only African Secondary School in Rhodesia where free education is provided. Founded in Bulawayo by Mrs. Coleman, the school is staffed by volunteers. Students' incomes are utterly inadequate for the purchase of books.

Gifts of books and/or contributions for postage, packing and publicity should please be sent to—

Leonard Tomkinson
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Their complaint

The African Daily News reported that, at a meeting of the African Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union in Bulawayo, workers from one large Bulawayo factory complained they were assaulted if they made a mistake with their work.

Other complaints were that large

GOOD NEWS



IT was a very great encouragement to get back from our Summer Conference at Borth to find that the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund had jumped up from £465 to £646.

One hundred pounds from an anonymous donor, £40 from an old friend and supporter, £5 from "a working lad" and £5 from a member of the PPU Summer Conference, together with other gifts, including £2 from two Kent supporters, £1 each from a Yorkshire and a Surrey cricket fan, helped to make this almost a record fortnight.

I hope, therefore, that I will not be thought unappreciative if I remind other readers that we still have a long way to go. Over £500 to raise before the end of the year, because we must not fall short of our aim or get too far behind again. And what an encouragement to all to do their very best during the next three months!

I feel sure that there will be other readers who will be encouraged by these generous friends to send their gift in during this week, and, if I can appropriately change the metaphor, from cricket to football, help to keep the ball moving.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150
Amount received to date: £646

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

A powers of violence and coercion, but relying on functional activities to heal, feed and educate the peoples towards universal brotherhood, was welcomed as a dream of a world-order by members of the Peace Pledge Union at their summer conference at Pantyfedwen, Borth.

The progress of the United Nations from its inception as a community of belligerents to its far-flung claim of establishing a control that would secure peace for all, was surveyed very fully by **Stuart Morris**, General Secretary of the PPU. That the conditions necessary for world-government would be fulfilled when that was achieved, thereby rendering it unessential was generally agreed. "We, the peoples," should literally mean the peoples," Stuart Morris insisted, emphasising the necessity for direct representation of peoples rather than governments as at present.

UN agencies

Sybil Morrison spoke of the functional agencies of the United Nations—"This little oasis of collective conscience in the world." It was good to know that UNICEF, the children's fund, was maintained entirely by voluntary contributions, to visualise what a World Health Organisation might become.

The care of refugees, food, health, education—all these practical things to be done, with 45 per cent. of the world's population still unable to read, was no fortification against the shock of realising that the United Kingdom gives only £6,000,000 per annum. Indeed, as Sybil Morrison had said earlier, war resisters were the only folk preserving what there was of these practical things that the world's conscience demanded by their insistence on the abandonment of war itself.

It was at the completion of these two studies that **Allen Skinner**, Associate Editor of Peace News, crystallised in one thoughtful sentence what the conference as a whole seemed to be feeling rather than expressing. He declared that in his opinion world government was not the answer but rather that the functional agencies of UN might establish an administration that would be the means of creating peace and securing the abandonment of fear in the world.

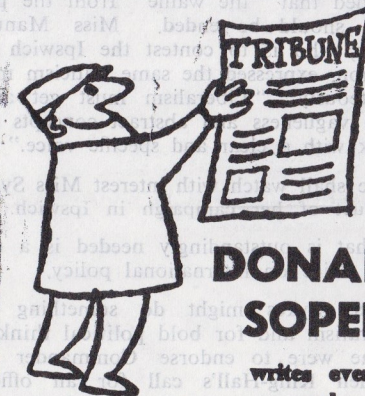
The urgent need for such an administration was brought into sharp relief when **Karl Struve**, a German member of the War Resisters' International, spoke on the cleav-

age between East Germany and West Germany as one of economics and sheer need and not at all as one of disagreement or enmity between Germans on the two sides of the Iron Curtain. The solution, he said, was undoubtedly for economic aid to raise the standard of living in East Germany. To let the matter take its course was to endanger the peace of Europe and the world.

Moral authority

A second lecture was given by **Stuart Morris**. Under the title "The Arm of the Law" he related the law to the United Nations and concluded: "Once the traditional belief in violence can be broken down the day will not be far distant when it will be repudiated as a method of national or international action and reliance be placed upon the moral and spiritual authority of the United Nations."

Hope, joy in the task before us, and the essential unity of the world's peoples in their aspirations and desires, were brought to sparkling expression in the song cycle contributed most delightfully by **Arlo Tatum** (and who with a better right to these things than the world secretary of the War Resisters' International?) with his Negro Spirituals and the folk-songs of North and South America. Traditional airs of Wales, England and Scotland were tenderly rendered on the harp by **Anne Lloyd**.



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PEACE NEWS

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A new Liberalism?

THE Liberal Party, we learn, has found a new buoyancy as shown in the Gloucester by-election and as was clear in the political optimism that pervaded the Party's Annual Assembly at Southport last week.

We believe that the revival of a Liberal Party standing for a clearly recognisable body of principles shown in policies clearly different from those of the two other parties would be a considerable advantage to British politics.

The great weakness, we believe, of the Liberal Party lies in the fact that it consists partly of people who take a basically Conservative view but have minor disagreements with the Conservative Party, and partly of those largely in sympathy with a Labour outlook, but with minor disagreements with that party.

If the Liberal Party is again to become the custodian of those liberal values that a quarter of a century ago it was reasonable to hope the Labour Party had taken over, it will have to face the electorate in a General Election with something better than the tight-rope walking between the two other programmes—a tiny area enough, in all conscience—which is all that it at present appears likely to offer.

Clarity demanded

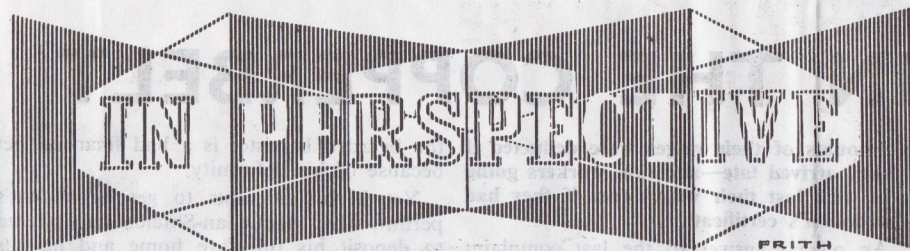
THE most hopeful aspect of the Liberals' Conference was a restiveness that was very evident among the younger people present, who were dissatisfied with the vagueness and the evasiveness that is the common mark of Liberal Party pronouncements today.

One young undergraduate rudely demanded that "the waffle" from the platform should be ended. Miss Manuela Sykes, who is to contest the Ipswich by-election, expressed the same criticism more courteously: "Liberalism must get away from vagueness and abstract concepts and speak with a clear and specific voice."

We shall watch with interest Miss Sykes' conduct of her campaign in Ipswich.

What is outstandingly needed is a new clear voice on international policy.

Miss Sykes might do something for Liberalism and for bold political thinking if she were to endorse Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for an official enquiry into the potentialities of unarmed



this is far from the best way to end segregation in the US South.

The bitter feelings of the US Civil War are still strong among whites in the South and troops can never really deal with the depth of feelings and customs such as exist there.

A better way

A MUCH better way was demonstrated in the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, last year. Non-violent resistance is never easy against racial segre-

gation resulting from prejudices of people which seem psychopathic. But the easy way is not always the best way.

Efforts to abolish segregation by legislation and court orders may be more easily blocked by court cases than can efforts by non-violent resistance.

More direct

THE more direct method of non-violent resistance requires greater efforts by the opponents of segregation than do attempts to get a law passed or contribute money to help fight a court case.

But as the experience in Montgomery shows, non-violent resistance may be more thorough in its effect and, at times, even quicker.

And it is not so likely to lead to mob violence and the use of troops as are efforts to abolish segregation by violence or threat of violence.

Unfortunately, American liberals and radicals have not in the past given as much consideration to non-violent resistance to combat injustices as might be desired, accepting almost axiomatically instead that the changes should be made by the Federal Government.

To the degree to which opponents of racial segregation in the US are able to use non-violent resistance instead of largely relying on the courts and legislation they will help others as well in the development of a method of social change which establishes justice without adding to the centralisation of power—one of the major threats to human liberty to-day.

Creeping in

THE announcement made last week about the defence talks between the UK and the Union of South Africa is not a very illuminating one, but from its careful ambiguities and officialese one can detect a victory for Strijdom in his slow-but-sure drive to incorporate the Protectorates.

Mr. Erasmus, South African Minister of Defence, and Lord Mancroft, for Britain, took a stage further the 1955 agreement to permit the Union Government to survey sites for radar stations in Bechuanaland and Swaziland and, if need be, in Basutoland. This year the UK Government "accepted in principle a proposal by the Union Government for the grant of certain flying rights in the High Commission Territories; he (Lord Mancroft) also undertook to give careful consideration to further proposals made by the Union Government for facilities in the territories in relation to planning for the defence of South Africa while (the statement adds) making it clear that responsibility for the security of the Territories rested exclusively with the UK Government."

South Africa has always argued that, since the Protectorates are economically and strategically part of the Union, incorporation would merely be the political recognition of an established fact. She has also made it clear that the wishes of the peoples of the High Commission Territories are irrelevant.

By this agreement Britain has made a substantial concession to South Africa—

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LABOUR AND UNARMED DEFENCE

THE membership of the Labour Party has come rather belatedly to recognise that the most important political issue today is nuclear warfare. The resolutions on this subject submitted for the Labour Party Conference at Brighton next week clearly show this.

There are 119 resolutions specifically dealing with this subject and it is included in other resolutions also dealing with other matters.

However, most of them—some possibly merely through lack of clear definition—make only the kind of proposals the present Government would probably claim already guide its policy.

A large minority of these resolutions, however, call for Britain to renounce nuclear weapon tests independently of any general agreement among the other Powers to stop them, although it is hoped that such an agreement would follow.

In this group of resolutions too many deal with only the tests. There are some, however, including those of the National Union of Vehicle Builders and the Durham Federation of Labour Parties, who see that the manufacture of these bombs must be renounced as well as their testing.

This year resolutions of the traditional type on agreed disarmament are conspicuously absent, although the Labour Party Conference follows the protracted and abortive sittings of the UN Disarmament Sub-Committee.

THIS IS AS IT SHOULD BE. IT SHOWS AN APPRECIATION THAT TODAY THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING RID OF THE THREAT OF WAR IS INSEPARABLY LINKED WITH GETTING RID OF THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

A short resolution from Edgbaston calls for "a clear statement of Labour Defence Policy." The reason for this need is rather incongruously given as "in view of the present economic policy of the Government."

However, the resolution indicates that the whole issue of nuclear war is linked to what is called Britain's "defence policy" and foreign policy.

One young undergraduate rudely demanded that "the waffle" from the platform should be ended. Miss Manuela Sykes, who is to contest the Ipswich by-election, expressed the same criticism more courteously: "Liberalism must get away from vagueness and abstract concepts and speak with a clear and specific voice."

We shall watch with interest Miss Sykes' conduct of her campaign in Ipswich.

What is outstandingly needed is a new clear voice on international policy.

Miss Sykes might do something for Liberalism and for bold political thinking if she were to endorse Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for an official enquiry into the potentialities of unarmed non-violent resistance as a method of national defence.

Indeed, the Liberal Party leader, Mr. Jo Grimond, MP, who has also placed great emphasis on the need for greater clarity in the statement of Liberal policy, might well consider whether the Ipswich by-election does not afford a favourable opportunity for a pronouncement along these lines from himself.

Little Rock's strife

LET us hope that all Americans, and all other people who live where there is a colour bar have been sufficiently morally revolted by the events in Little Rock, Arkansas to double their efforts peacefully to end all prejudice and segregation against their fellow human beings.

Governor Faubus by his use of National Guard troops to prevent the Negro children from entering the school so publicised the case that more extremist whites were bound to act. He therefore bears much of the responsibility for what has happened.

Even when Southern governors and others intend to accept in the long run an end to segregation, they may nevertheless issue dangerous sounding statements and take dramatic actions. Sometimes they will be bluffing—other times not.

These melodramatics will keep them in good grace with those white voters who would never vote for politicians who willingly accepted racial integration. But Little Rock illustrates the danger of such behaviour.

Although the use of Federal troops to keep the extremist whites from further interference might slow the rapidity with which America's prestige is falling abroad,

nuclear weapon tests independently of any general agreement among the other Powers to stop them, although it is hoped that such an agreement would follow.

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THE right focussing point for the discussion of the whole issue, we venture to suggest to the delegates, lies in the resolution of Portsmouth South Labour Party calling for a Royal Commission "to consider the possibilities of unarmed resistance as a national defence policy."

"Defence policy"—as the term is now used—has ceased to have its earlier significance. As the present Minister of "Defence" has explained, it does not mean preparation for defending the lives of the British people.

IT MEANS THE DEVELOPMENT, MAINTENANCE AND PROTECTION OF THE MEANS TO DESTROY THE POPULATION OF AN ENEMY POWER.

There is not even any reason to believe that Britain would become involved in this method of killing whole populations only in retaliation for an actual invasion of this country. There are US launching points in Britain which might be used regardless of the attitude of the British Government. And British military action in Egypt last year—however "defensive" it may have been called—had nothing to do with protecting the shores of Britain against invasion.



WE do not know whether a Royal Commission would find that a defence policy based on unarmed resistance to invasion would become practicable or not.

Let us candidly admit that we ourselves do not know whether it would be practicable.

The practicability of unarmed resistance depends, in part at least, on qualities of character in the people who use it, and we do not know whether the British peoples have those qualities.

What an unarmed defence policy unquestionably does, however, is to take all the dangerous ambiguity out of that word "defence". Non-violent resistance can only be used for defence in the most literal sense, and not for anything resembling aggression, however it may be camouflaged as defence.

The British could not use it to defend Cyprus against the Cypriots, but could use it to defend Britain against foreign oppression if, in the light of the world's dilemma in the age of nuclear weapons, they can develop the new kind of discipline and the new manifestations of courage that non-violent resistance requires.

WE APPEAL TO THE DELEGATES AT BRIGHTON SERIOUSLY TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITIES INHERENT IN SUCH A PROPOSAL, AND TO SUPPORT PORTSMOUTH SOUTH IN THE CLAIM THAT THE SUBJECT CALLS FOR AN OFFICIAL ENQUIRY.

careful consideration to further proposals made by the Union Government for facilities in the territories in relation to planning for the defence of South Africa while (the statement adds) making it clear that responsibility for the security of the Territories rested exclusively with the UK Government."

South Africa has always argued that, since the Protectorates are economically and strategically part of the Union, incorporation would merely be the political recognition of an established fact. She has also made it clear that the wishes of the peoples of the High Commission Territories are irrelevant.

By this agreement Britain has made a substantial concession to South Africa—incorporation is one stage nearer—and seems to have accepted the Union's view that the indigenous populations have no right to a say in determining their future. When South Africa again demands full incorporation (probably after the General Election) Britain's ability to resist will be seen to be much weakened.

Opponents of incorporation should do all they can to publicise this agreement and show how Britain is permitting South Africa to capitalise on the cold war and grab the Protectorates by degrees.

Gromyko's speech

WHEN one is considering the speeches made to the General Assembly of the United Nations by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Gromyko on what is going on in what we call the "Middle East" (West Asia), it is just as well to have a clear idea of the position of this area on the map of the world.

It will then be realised that it is exceedingly unlikely that either the Russians or the peoples of the uncommitted nations are likely to share the view that the Western Powers so readily take for granted that they have some natural right to a monopoly of influence in this area.

Of the three resolutions that Mr. Gromyko gave notice in his speech, that which declared for "peaceful co-existence" on the basis of the Bandung Conference principles, would again give the Western Powers the opportunity of examining the Russian offer, several times repeated, to co-operate in the development of this dangerous trouble centre, the "Middle East".

We think this offer should be taken up.

ADVANCE AND RETREAT ON THE FREEDOM FRONT

"Asia and Africa dominate the world scene this week. The events are so many that I can only comment briefly," writes

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

CHAIRMAN OF THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

WITH the entry of Malaya, the Afro-Asian group becomes the biggest at the United Nations. Among the 81 Member States, the 30 Asian and African nations hold the balance between the Western and Soviet blocs.

A reflection of Afro-Asian influence was, first, the election of the Ceylon and Tunis candidates to the Steering Committee which decides the agenda of the Assembly (against the Western nominee, Spain, not an outstanding representative of democracy!) and, second, the inclusion of Cyprus on the agenda, despite Britain's protest that the issue is within the sphere of British sovereignty.

India will take the lead at the Assembly on disarmament. The Afro-Asian group may prove of great significance for peace as well as for colonial freedom.

China rejected

THERE are only two words to describe British opposition on the Steering Committee to India's proposal that the Chinese Peoples' Republic should be admitted to the United Nations: *cowardly opportunism*. Britain herself recognises the Peking Government, but from subservience to the USA votes against UN recognition. We cannot stand many more such blows to our moral prestige.

India isn't free

THE renewed disturbance in Goa remind us that not all India is yet politically free. There is still a Portuguese colony in its territory. The British Government is in the best position to mediate, because India belongs to the Commonwealth and Portugal is an historic ally. We cannot expect India to remain patient much longer.

Jordan and Syria

DESPITE America's ostentatious gift of arms, Jordan has

only be used to defend British territory.

No period is fixed for the agreement and it may not be enduring. Once the jungle war is over, Malaya is likely to move, like the rest of South-East Asia, towards neutralism.

Defence of Africa

A NEW military agreement has also been signed by Britain and South Africa. The Union Government wanted an African version of SEATO and NATO, but Britain holds that the place to defend the continent is the Middle East rather than Africa itself.

The Defence Agreement is therefore limited to naval arrangements on the Cape, important now that Suez is in Egyptian hands—and in air flights over the British Protectorates.

This will cause alarm in Swaziland and Basutoland, who fear any association with the South African Union and its apartheid. They will regard a Defence Pact as a big step towards political absorption.

Ghana

TO many of us Ghana's adoption of old colonial methods in restricting freedom is a bitter blow. There were reasons. The British news service from Ghana has long been prejudiced against Nkrumah. Reactionary tribal interests have encouraged resistance to the authority of the democratically elected Government. Nevertheless, those of us who have condemned the denial of liberty elsewhere would be untrue to our convictions if we endorsed it when practised by our friends.

What I fear most is that the events in Ghana may be seized by reactionaries as an excuse for delaying independence in other African countries, including Nigeria. They will be welcomed by White Settlers in East and Central Africa as a reason for resisting the political progress of Africans.

Already the Oxford University Union has decided to debate a motion that the happenings in Ghana justify the withholding of

The Trade Unions, the Labour Party and the H-bomb

By BOB EDWARDS, MP

General Secretary, Chemical Workers Union

WHILST the Trades Union Congress did not go on record in favour of unilateral action for the ending of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, the composite resolution which was unanimously carried went a long way towards this end.

The resolution viewed with grave concern the growing health hazards and dangers to world peace from the continued testing and manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and expressed the view that their manufacture should cease immediately and that no further tests should take place.

It urged the Government to propose the immediate unconditional suspension of tests to the Governments of other Powers directly concerned as a first step towards the banning of all nuclear weapons. It suggested, further, that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions should be requested to recommend similar action by all member unions, and it finally called on the Government for an immediate inquiry and report, nationally and through the United Nations, on the health hazards arising from the use of radio-active materials.

The mover of this composite resolution and the seconder and all the supporting speakers went much further than the policy outlined in the resolution, and it was clear from the debate that many millions of votes would have been cast for a much more decisive resolution.

UNILATERAL ACTION

It is customary at our British Trade Unions Congress for at least one speech of caution to be delivered from the platform when subjects of this nature are being discussed, but at Blackpool no such intervention came from the General Council. This was indeed surprising in the light of the speeches made in debate. It was, therefore, unfortunate that Congress had no opportunity of testing the feeling of the movement on the issue of unilateral action.

The Labour Party Conference, however, is faced with no such limitation, and it is certain that one of the composite resolutions will emphatically declare for British initiative through unilateral action to end all atomic and hydrogen bomb

September 27, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

us to the very brink of disaster and race suicide.

It is therefore the fervent hope of all decent men and women that our Labour Party Conference will face up to its majestic opportunities.

In Dante's Inferno the worst criminal and offender was the man who had the grand opportunity and failed to take it.

British labour has this opportunity. History will condemn us if we allow political expediency and opportunism to obscure our historical duty.

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STUART JACKMAN

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Harvest is a time of thanksgiving, not only for the fruits of earth, sea, and

UN recognition. We cannot stand more such blows to our moral prestige.

India isn't free

THE renewed disturbance in Goa remind us that not all India is yet politically free. There is still a Portuguese colony in its territory. The British Government is in the best position to mediate, because India belongs to the Commonwealth and Portugal is an historic ally. We cannot expect India to remain patient much longer.

Jordan and Syria

DESPITE America's ostentatious gift of arms, Jordan has emphasised her friendship with Syria and her solidarity with all Arab peoples in resisting imperialism. American policy in West Asia is incredibly silly. It is making a present of the whole Arab race to Russia.

The military coup in Siam

WHAT is the real significance of the overthrow by the army of the Pibul Government in Siam? Is it really only a matter of rivalry between business interests?

I am a little doubtful, because immediately before the coup I received reports of trends in the Pibul Government towards neutralism.

That would have been markedly inappropriate in Bangkok, the headquarters of SEATO!

It must be somewhat embarrassing to the SEATO Conference assembled in Bangkok to defend democracy in Asia against military aggression, to find that the elected Government has been deposed by a Commander-in-Chief and his tanks and troops.

Malaya and SEATO

THE new Defence agreement between Britain and Malaya is a compromise. The Malayan Government wants continued assistance from Britain against the Communists in the jungle war, but it is aware of the strong feeling among the people about SEATO, and particularly the use of Malayan territory for nuclear warfare. Therefore the agreement is not linked with SEATO and no major change in the character of the forces is to be made without consultation. In addition, military bases in Malaya must

be judged on their merits. Reactionary tribal interests have encouraged resistance to the authority of the democratically elected Government. Nevertheless, those of us who have condemned the denial of liberty elsewhere would be untrue to our convictions if we endorsed it when practised by our friends.

What I fear most is that the events in Ghana may be seized by reactionaries as an excuse for delaying independence in other African countries, including Nigeria. They will be welcomed by White Settlers in East and Central Africa as a reason for resisting the political progress of Africans.

Already the Oxford University Union has decided to debate a motion that the happenings in Ghana justify the withholding of self-government from Africans. I have been glad to accept an invitation to move the rejection of the motion.

France and Algeria

THE French Government, anticipating the United Nations debate, has introduced a Bill to extend limited self-government on a regional basis to Algeria. The measure is tragically inadequate. Not only will foreign affairs and defence remain in French hands; internal security, electoral arrangements, taxes, expenditure, a large part of education, justice (with certain exceptions), public property and power resources are still to be controlled in Paris.

Nothing could more fully illustrate the gulf between French opinion and Algerian aspirations than this futile measure.

Yet the French community in Algeria regard it as a gross betrayal of their interests! One despairs of a settlement by agreement. Algeria has all the appearance of a modern Greek tragedy, moving inevitably to irreconcilable violence. Will France never learn?

Malta to join Britain

TO end with a brighter item. Dom Mintoff, Prime Minister of Malta, is coming to London to negotiate union with Britain. No anti-imperialist would impose unity; but the desire has been expressed by the Maltese people themselves. We shall welcome Maltese MPs to the House of Commons because they will come by self-determination.

(See also "Creeping In"—page four)

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The Labour Party Conference, however, is faced with no such limitation, and it is certain that one of the composite resolutions will emphatically declare for British initiative through unilateral action to end all atomic and hydrogen bomb tests and to end all future production.

There will be substantial support for such a resolution from the affiliated trade unions, which will include many large unions with considerable voting strength.

If this is a correct assessment of the feeling of the movement, it might well be that British labour will put itself in a decisive way right in the forefront of the campaign for unilateral action, and, by so doing, British labour will be giving that moral leadership which the peoples of the world are demanding, so that a halt can be called to this suicidal madness of spending the wealth of the world on destructive weapons of war; war which a mere minor incident could spark off and set a military adventure in motion which could involve the world in a devastating atomic conflict and bring

cation and loyalty He takes them and works miracles with them. This is a book about those hands, and the people to whom they belong.

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Harvest is a time of thanksgiving, not only for the fruits of earth, sea, and sky, but also for the harvest of every man's work. In this little book some outstanding preachers share with us their thinking, lifting our hearts and minds to God in thankfulness for all His gifts; and especially for the gift of His Son Jesus Christ.

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CIVILIAN DEFENCE FOR NORWAY?

By Professor Arne Naess

The idea of unarmed defence by non-violent resistance being a possible alternative to military defence based on nuclear weapons, as recently advocated in Britain by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in his call for a Royal Commission on this problem, has its advocates in other parts of the world also.

In the first of two articles, Professor Arne Naess, of the University of Oslo, Norway, discusses why military defence is not adequate today, and how there might be a gradual change from military to unarmed "civilian defence."

Next week he writes about the problem of how to prepare for civilian defence.

These articles are based on a lecture given by Professor Naess in Oslo on October 10, 1953.



1, Military defence not adequate today

DEFENCE OF A BORDER or a territory was formerly often identical with defence of a way of life, a cultural pattern, or an ideology. Today, the inter-dependence and inter-action between States and the

Professor Arne Naess has been professor in the Institute of Philosophy and the History of Ideas of the University of Oslo since 1939. He also worked for several years in psychology with E. C. Tolman and E. Brunswik.

In 1948-49 he headed a project on contemporary ideological conflicts at UNESCO Headquarters. Papers of his were contained in "Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium prepared by UNESCO," edited by R. McKeon (University of Chicago Press, 1951).

He is the author of several books on philosophy and studies of ideology.

Professor Naess was one of the experts on the causes of war at the 1949 UNESCO meeting. His contribution was published in the volume "Tensions that Cause War" (University of Illinois Press, 1950).

lack of "buffer-territory" with isolating wilderness, have made borders of less importance, especially for small countries such as Norway.

The physical borders of Norway are no longer the borders of Norwegian independence.

"Military defence" is only one of several kinds of defence of a way of life

the best defence, strong offensive military action (that is, offensive war) is today too hazardous, politically and morally, to be seriously considered.

The accumulation of bombs, war material and the training of men is an activity, but it is very passive and self-centred when considered in relation to potential enemies and potential allies.

ENDS AND MEANS

Military defence is also only rather indirect—that is, not the most direct of the possible methods to achieve a desired end, and may not result in the achievement of that end—in so far as military success may be accompanied by failure to defend a way of life.

For example, as a small Power with strong alliances, Norway may be forced into armed fighting for aims which most of its inhabitants consider totally devoid of value.

There will scarcely be time in case of extreme crisis to inform our people about the situation.

Our Government may suddenly bring us into a war of such a kind that co-operation will be utterly degrading and involve a negation of the aims for which the so-called just war is supposed to be an adequate means.

2, Gradual change from military to civilian defence

MANY people, of various political and ideological affiliations, acknowledge the grave risk that both the narrow and the broader aims of a modern war and threat of war may not be achieved by these methods of defence.

ferior to civilian defence in effectiveness, and considers satyagraha the only kind of ethically justifiable form of group struggle, then military defence as an institution should be hindered in its operation by all means at one's disposal.

AN ALTERNATIVE NEEDED

However, at least in Norway, most people sincerely believe in the efficiency and sometimes also ethical nature of purely defensive war. They also believe that their Government will only involve them in this kind of war.

The only aims which they sincerely hold to be great enough to justify modern defensive war are of a lofty kind.

These aims are the defence of freedom, culture and truth against enemies representing totalitarian ideals of the State, slave labour, absence of human rights, and curtailment of personal initiative.

Under such circumstances, the success of propaganda for immediate dissolution of the military defence organisations—as undertaken by most pacifists between the world wars—is not likely to further the aims of those who believe in the efficiency of satyagraha and, possibly, other forms of civilian defence.

If the military organisations are greatly reduced at the present moment, probably most people will feel more insecure, threatened and helpless than ever, and the passive state of despair and fatalism will be reinforced.

If one takes away the only means a person believes to be efficient in a crisis, he has every reason to feel frustrated.

A NECESSARY STEP

From the standpoint of those who believe in the greater efficiency of civilian defence and in satyagraha as the sole form of ethically justifiable group struggle, what is needed immediately is:

(1) A large-scale programme of spreading information about methods of resistance by civilian defence, as a substitute for military defence, and also,

(2) Propaganda for actions along this line which are going on today, however small in scope they may be compared with military action.

Increased trust in civilian defence is the sole basis for a radical reduction of military defence organisations and military armament.

European Economic Co-operation No.2.

WHAT IS ECSC?

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Members: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

THE Coal and Steel Community was set up in 1952 largely as a result of political motives. It was thought that a "supranational" authority for the basic commodities, coal and steel, would be a safeguard against future war between France and Germany, and the Community was also seen as a step towards European Union.

The treaty provided for very full integration in the sectors covered, by the abolition of all customs duties and quantitative restrictions on movements of coal and steel within the Community, the ending of State subsidies and restrictive practices among producers, sellers and buyers, provision for pooling resources in time of emergency, and joint planning of future development.

The High Authority of the Community consists of members appointed by the six Governments jointly, and not responsible to any individual one of them. Its other institutions are the Common Assembly, representing the six national Parliaments, which exercises a form of parliamentary control, the Special Council of Ministers to harmonise policies of the High Authority and the member Governments and a Court of Justice. The High Authority is financed by a general levy on the production of coal and steel.

The UK, which produces almost a half of Europe's coal and a third of its steel, would not join the Community, but entered into a formal association with it in December, 1954.

Next week: Euratom.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of Documents on World Affairs (United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 6d.)

FAU to end in 1959

UNLESS there is a major change in Government policy on conscription, the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service, which since 1948 has offered opportunities in home and overseas service for conscientious objectors, will terminate its activities in 1959. FAU has drawn its membership not only from Friends but from

He is the author of several books on philosophy and studies of ideology.

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lack of "buffer-territory" with isolating wilderness, have made borders of less importance, especially for small countries such as Norway.

The physical borders of Norway are no longer the borders of Norwegian independence.

"Military defence" is only one of several kinds of defence of a way of life and of a set of operative ideals of ways of life. It is today a passive and indirect defence.

Even if one holds that an offensive is

Not a larger H-bomb

A motion "That Britain, as a deterrent, should make a larger H-Bomb" was defeated by 15 votes to 6 (with two abstentions) at the opening meeting of the season of the Islington Literary and Debating Society. The speakers opposing the motion were the Rev. Geoffrey P. T. Paget King (a pacifist) and Mrs. Sybil Hodson (a non-pacifist), both of the Islington Peace Association. The proposer of the motion, Mr. Hugh Shayler, is also a pacifist, but acted as "devil's advocate" on this occasion.

FORWARD FROM WAR ● FROM
PAGE TWO

Socialists must be internationalists

"If the Labour Party would take its courage in both hands, if the marriage of morals and practice once again became central to the Movement, then Labour's victory would be inevitable."—
Dr. Donald Soper

SOCIALIST movements in all countries have always concerned themselves with international affairs, although they were primarily created to combat economic injustice. Prior to 1914 the Socialist International called upon the workers everywhere to refuse to support their governments in the event of war.

Only small minorities obeyed this call. For the vast mass of ordinary people, and for the major socialist parties too, patriotism was a stronger force than internationalism. Between 1919 and 1939 the socialists of the West were not strong enough to establish socialism or prevent fascism and World War II.

The situation today demands that socialists think and plan their policies in world terms. Domestic socialism and the Welfare State are not enough.

into a war of such a kind that co-operation will be utterly degrading and involve a negation of the aims for which the so-called just war is supposed to be an adequate means.

2, Gradual change from military to civilian defence

MANY people, of various political and ideological affiliations, acknowledge the grave risk that both the narrow and the broader aims of a modern war and threat of war may not be achieved by these methods of defence.

This makes it imperative to look for other kinds of defence.

The other kinds of defence, let us call them by the class name *civilian defence*, have not been studied with care as substitutes for war.

It is now time to encourage large-scale study of them.

The outstanding subclass of civilian defence methods is *satyagraha*, the active form of non-violent group action developed by Gandhi and others.

There is a widespread tendency to hold that if one considers military defence in-

We must stand uncompromisingly against war, military conscription and tyranny, and strive for the emancipation of all peoples.

The socialism of the British Labour Party has been grounded in moral principles. Its tradition is anti-militarist and anti-imperialist. It has striven to make the brotherhood of man a reality at home and abroad.

IN NEITHER POWER BLOC

Between 1945 and 1951 our Labour Government put into practice a colonial policy consistent with socialist ideals. In freeing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon it showed how imperialist rule could be peacefully liquidated.

In international affairs, Labour has still to evolve an approach that breaks away from traditionalist Tory foreign policy, which has relied on diplomacy backed by armaments, overseas bases and military alliances. In the post-war world Labour opted for military methods in meeting the challenge of Communism. Britain became a junior partner in the US military bloc, maintained conscription and developed nuclear weapons. The Tories continued this policy.

Democratic socialists ought not to ally themselves with either the capitalist or Communist power bloc. The creation of a planned socialist economy combined with the preservation of democratic freedom is our aim. Support for either side in the cold war should be rejected.

Next week: Euratom.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of Documents on World Affairs (United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 6d.)

FAU to end in 1959

UNLESS there is a major change in Government policy on conscription, the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service, which since 1948 has offered opportunities in home and overseas service for conscientious objectors, will terminate its activities in 1959. FAU has drawn its membership not only from Friends but from young men of many denominations.

Anticipating a smaller membership because of the run-down in conscription, the FAU is vacating its headquarters at "Tunmers," Chalfont St. Peter, Buckinghamshire, and will return to its former premises at Shaw Hill, Melksham, Wiltshire.

During recent months more members have been working overseas than at any time since the Service was established in 1948, and most of these members have been working for and with refugees in Austria and Germany.

We have to live and work in this world with Communists as well as adherents of private enterprise.

India under Nehru has shown how the challenge of the cold war should be met. As the major European member, Britain following India's lead could help to develop the Commonwealth into a world-wide force for peace and mediation.

MORAL STAND NEEDED

The frightening problems of peace and war are fundamentally moral ones. Reliance on weapons which threaten the mass annihilation and poisoning of millions is an untenable policy for the British Labour Party. If Labour fails to take a clear stand on this life and death issue then the rest of its policies will be of little consequence.

The Suez "Law not War" rallies united and enthused Labour folk as never before. The campaign showed that public opinion can be mobilised to change foreign policy, even when Labour is in opposition, if the whole power of our Movement is thrown into the struggle.

Today Labour can and must arouse the British people to the perils of the nuclear arms race. On many other issues—Cyprus, Kenya, "war on want," the call-up—Labour ought to make its alternative to Tory policy more widely known.

LABOUR TODAY MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, September 27

BIRMINGHAM 2: 10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m.; Room 3, Chamber of Commerce, 95 New St. Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal.

Saturday, September 28

CHATHAM 2.30 p.m.: Unitarian Church, Hammond Hill. S.E. Area Meeting. Public Meeting, 7 p.m., Paddock Restaurant. Speaker: Minnie Pallister, "Is Peace Possible?" Chairman: Bill Lowe. Medway Towns PPU Group. Details: Inge Hyde, 28 Horsted Way, Rochester.

LEWES 3.30 and 5.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. Speaker: Max Parker, "Problems for Pacifists." For. Sec.: Clarence Tritton, Shepherd's Corner, Ringmer, Sussex.

LONDON, N.5: at Steenvoven Ho., 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. "Day of Prayer for Peace." Chapel open from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Refreshments available, 4 p.m.; Public Meeting. "Czechoslovakia Today." Speaker: Sybil Hodson. Questions and discussion. All welcome.

RUGBY: 7 p.m.; Brotherhood Ho. Public Forum on International Affairs. Panel: Sybil Morrison, H. H. Davies, Wallace Hancock, Eric Shafer. Chairman: Raymond Rowse. PPU.

Sunday, September 29

LONDON: 4 p.m.; Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.1. Refreshments.

SANDERSTEAD: 3 p.m.; at 119 Limsfield Rd. "International Peacemaking." Speaker: Arlo Tatum. PPU. Surrey Area.

BRIGHTON: 3.30 p.m.; Fishmarket. Meeting of the Brighton Committee Against Nuclear Weapon Tests. Preceded by poster parade. Speaker: Sybil Morrison, "The Moral Implications of the H-bomb."

Monday, September 30

BRIGHTON: 7.45 p.m.; Robertson Hall, Ship St. Public Meeting. Speakers: Joyce Butler, MP, Geo. Thomas, MP, James Avery Joyce. Chairman: Victor Yates, MP. "The H-bomb—A Challenge."

Tuesday, October 1

LEIGH, Lancs: 7.30 p.m.; Independent Methodist School, The Avenue. Public Mtg. Speaker: Wilfred Wellock, "Why not Unilateral Disarmament?" For. SoF.

Wednesday, October 2

BRISTOL: LOCAL TRIBUNAL for COs, Board Room, Gaunts Ho., Denmark St., Bristol 1. 2 p.m.

ST. LEONARDS ON SEA: 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd. Monthly Meeting. Speaker: Arlo Tatum, "International Peacemaking." Chairman: Kenneth Wray. PPU.

Thursday, October 3

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Speaker: Nora Douglas, "Teaching in Germany." Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group, PPU.

Friday, October 4

PORTSMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Church, Victoria Road South. Public Meeting with Film. "The Shadow of Hiroshima." Speakers: Minnie Pallister and Dr. Clarkson.

HULL: 8.15 p.m.; at 6 Bond St. Irene Jacoby on "My Visit to Russia." All welcome. PPU.

Saturday, October 5

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Business and Discussion. Speaker: Olwen Battersby, "Problems of Racial Prejudice." PPU Religion Commission. Visitors welcome.

LEEDS: Yorkshire's Annual CO Reunion. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane, 4 p.m., Annual General Meeting of the N.E. CO Regional Board, 5.30 p.m., Tea, 6.30 p.m., Mtg. Speaker: Sybil Morrison, "Pacifism and the H-Bomb."

The pamphlet "Questions and Answers about Nuclear Tests" is published by the Friends Committee on Legislation, (USA) 10 cents

TESTS AND RADIATION

THE Friends Committee on National Legislation in the United States has issued a series of questions and answers about nuclear tests. After discussing the reasons why scientists disagree on the dangers that may follow from radio-active fall-out, the statement sets out the following points upon which there is agreement:

1. **Genetic damage:** The National Academy of Sciences reported in 1956 that "no competent persons" doubt that radiation reaching the reproductive organs causes mutations (abnormalities) of the hereditary genes. These will be passed on to offspring. Other widely accepted points have been itemised in separate statements by Dr. James F. Crow of the University of Wisconsin and Dr. A. H. Sturtevant of California Institute of Technology:
 - a. Almost all mutations that have been studied are harmful (Crow and Sturtevant).
 - b. All radiation is harmful, whether natural or man-made. There is no

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been necessary to hold over
BOOK REVIEWS
until next week

such thing as a "safe" or desirable dose of radiation (Crow and Sturtevant).

- c. The effects of successive exposures are cumulative (Sturtevant).
- d. The effects are permanent in the descendants receiving the mutant genes. There is no recovery. (Sturtevant).
- e. There is a store of undesirable genes already present in any population. What irradiation does is to add to this store. (Sturtevant).
- f. Slight genetic damage to large populations is in the long run actually more serious than great damage to a small group, since the mutations do not die out as readily and are passed on to

2. **Damage to body tissue:** The AEC's Dr. Willard Libby has written that there is no question that excessive dosages of radioactive Strontium can cause bone cancer and leukaemia in animals; biologists generally agree that the same result occurs in human beings.

While the number of persons in this generation who will be damaged by increased radiation is "roughly calculable," it is not possible to identify individual cases resulting directly from fall-out. We know these cases occur, but they cannot be identified apart from diseases resulting from other causes.

The majority, though not all, of the experts at the Holifield hearings assumed that there was no "safe" dosage of radiation, or no threshold with respect to bone cancer and leukaemia.

Some scientists, notably Dr. Hermann J. Muller, Nobel Prize Winning geneticist of Indiana University, believe that radiation in any amount also shortens life expectancy.

H. J. Muller has said that the number of lives "seriously curtailed or injured throughout the world in future generations as a result of the tests *already held* is in all probability in the hundreds of thousands, or millions." Dr. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize winning chemist, estimated the increase in the number of serious mental and physical defects at 200,000 every generation.

3. **Fall-out Distribution:** The Holifield hearings brought out general agreement that the danger of fall-out is world-wide, but that, contrary to previous AEC assumptions, distribution is not uniform.
4. **Lack of data:** There is unanimous agreement on the need for more information about such things as the nature and effect of Strontium and a number of long-range research projects have been initiated.

Generally speaking, the entire controversy about fall-out effects centres on the question of *degree*: not whether any harm is being done, but *how much* harm is being done, and to whom.

2,153 AMERICAN COs

According to the latest figures there are 2,153 US conscientious objectors employed in civilian work, says the National Service Board for Religious Objectors' newspaper, The Reporter.

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NATURE CURE CLINIC Public Meeting. Andrew Rolla on "Posture in Relation to Health." Radharani Borkar on "The Hindu View of Food and Health." Chair: Miss N. M. Hosali, MSc, 7 p.m., Thurs. Oct. 10, Alliance Hall, Palmer Street, S.W.1. Admission free. Collection.

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Thursday, October 10

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Speaker: Charles Wye, "Humanitarianism." Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group, PPU.

Saturday, October 12

LONDON: 3 p.m.; 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1. Pax Annual General Meeting (Twenty-first anniversary). Speaker: Dr. Cecil Gull, "Pax in Perspective." Non-members welcome.

Sunday, October 13

LONDON: 3.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston, London, W.C.1. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Donald Groom, "Bhoodan."

Monday, October 14

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m.; 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Speaker: Charles Christmas, JP, "World Peace Congress at Colombo." Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU Group. All welcome.

Thursday, October 17

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; 32 Tower St. "Non-violence in the Bible," by John D. White. Alton PPU.

Saturday, October 26

HULL: 3 p.m.; at 6 Bond St. Twenty-first Anniversary of the First Peace Centre in Hull. Light Refreshments and talk of yesterday and tomorrow. Early pioneers specially invited. PPU.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

dose of radiation (Crow and Sturtevant).

c. The effects of successive exposures are cumulative (Sturtevant).

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e. There is a store of undesirable genes already present in any population. What irradiation does is to add to this store. (Sturtevant).

f. Slight genetic damage to large populations is in the long run actually more serious than great damage to a small group, since the mutations do not die out as readily and are passed on to great numbers of people for generations. (Crow).



This means that a small amount of radiation received by each of a large number of people can do a great deal of damage to the human race.

NOTEBOOK

P.N. Board member to broadcast

C. LESLIE HALE, MP, a member of Peace News Board, will be one of the two MPs in this year's "Straight from Conference" broadcasts, a BBC programme given nightly during the sessions of the Labour and Conservative Party Conferences. Charles Fletcher-Cooke will be the Conservative spokesman.

During the Labour Party Conference (Sept. 30-Oct. 3) the programme will be heard from 10.30-11 p.m. For the Conservative Conference (Oct. 11-13) it will be heard from 10.25-11 p.m. on the first two days and on the third day at 10.15-10.45 p.m. This year the programme will be on the Home Service.

Endorsed by ex-Governor General

A POSTCARD to my colleague Gene Sharp, from the last Governor-General of India, C. Rajagopalachari, carries a very warm word of congratulation to Peace News for Sybil Morrison's article in our issue of July 19.

The article, "Three False Assumptions," was her reply to the Prime Minister's statement justifying H-bomb tests and the deterrent power of the bomb, put out by the Conservative Central Office.

THE EDITOR

about such things as the nature and effect of Strontium and a number of long-range research projects have been initiated.

Generally speaking, the entire controversy about fall-out effects centres on the question of degree: not whether any harm is being done, but how much harm is being done, and to whom.

2,153 AMERICAN COs

According to the latest figures there are 2,153 US conscientious objectors employed in civilian work, says the National Service Board for Religious Objectors' newspaper, The Reporter.

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"LABOUR'S VOICE"

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MIKARDO WANTS END TO BRITISH H-BOMBS

★ FROM
PAGE ONE

"We must start on a new tack . . . we must realise that the world is one to-day, and, though we may argue, we have got in the end to get round the table and talk."

She attacked politicians for abdicating their responsibilities to the generals.

We poured out the treasure of our country into the coffers of the military men, while old-age pensioners waited, education languished, and the health of the population declined.

Some of the scientific brains which had been taken over by the military machine had done their job "too well," said Mrs. Castle. They had evolved a weapon so destructive that the generals were afraid to use it. We were so militarily strong that we were helpless.

Now the scientists were being told to make war manageable again . . . that was why we were hearing so much about the "clean" bomb.

"But a limited war is a contradiction in terms. You want him dead, not half dead. The idea that it will avoid ultimate world catastrophe is moonshine."

She said that Mr. Gromyko's plan should not be dismissed as "tactics." Britain should seize on his suggestions. "Let us go in, every one of us, who wants to see this great shadow lifted from the world and demand positive action from the Government," she said.

Courage needed

"Go home, Yanks," was the theme of Mr. Zilliacus's speech.

"We cannot, by making the bombs, either acquire a bargaining power with America, or defend ourselves or prevent war. It is economic waste and political lunacy.

"We should take the position that we will not make the bomb no matter what anyone else does," he said.

"We should apply the principle that where we cannot come to terms with the

United States on how to make peace, we will refuse to be bound by them to make war. We should go ahead without them, and ask them to take their bombers home and their troops from Germany."

Mr. Harold Davies said some nation had to have the courage to make a decision "at this crossroads." England had always been known for its courage, and the opportunity existed for us to demand from our politicians that they have nothing further to do with the bomb.

Mikardo's view

A letter from Mr. Mikardo, who was unable to be present, was read. He said: "The week after next the national Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Conference, will have to make a decision that is vital to the peace of the world: they will have to decide the Party's policy on the manufacture and use of the H-bomb.

"We should decide on the grounds of moral responsibility to the world, and in our own self-interest, that whatever any other nation may do, we will not test or manufacture or use the bomb.

"I hope there will be a majority in the Party and the nation who will support this view.

"But I hope they will do so with the realisation that we cannot renounce the bomb and let it be used from our shores by someone else." (Cheers.)

Before the meeting began a procession, carrying "Say No to War" and "Ban the Bomb" banners, marched from Hyde Park Corner to Trafalgar Square. There they were met by a crowd of Fascists, who booed. But, apart from that one incident, the march went smoothly.

Challenge to Labour

□ FROM PAGE ONE

"Mr. Duncan Sandys has said so twice: once in the White Paper and more recently in Australia. Will other nations want to drop hydrogen bombs on us if they know we are no longer a possible source of destruction for themselves? On the contrary, we should be less liable to obliteration. As Sir Winston Churchill has himself said, as an H-bomb base we become highly vulnerable.

"Quite apart from the question of self-preservation there is the moral issue

By Sybil Morrison

AN ACT OF FAITH

It is a sad reflection on the United Nations that Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, should have felt it worthwhile last week to address its General Assembly with such brazen frivolity, and that his audience should apparently have received his puerile proposals as if they were serious contributions to the disarmament debate. . . . Certainly Mr. Gromyko will convince no one who has the slightest knowledge of what disarmament is all about.

—Daily Telegraph. Sept. 23, 1957.

THE speech made by the Soviet Foreign Minister at the General Assembly of the United Nations is referred to on page four, and I do not propose to pursue it further, but rather to consider the attitude of the Daily Telegraph leader-writer who seems to imagine that he, at least, knows "what disarmament is all about"!

It has been said here before that the word has lost its meaning for the very simple reason that Governments have no intention of disarming in the real sense of the word, which means to be without arms.

When Governments speak of disarmament they do not mean that at all. From 1928 to 1932 the Disarmament Conferences, Commissions and Committees had constantly on their Agendas the subject of the abolition of bombing aeroplanes, but never total disarmament.

There were many nations then, Germany and Japan among them, who were willing to give up manufacturing bombing planes if everyone else would agree to do so. This "I'll do it if you will" attitude is unchanged from what it was then, nearly 30 years ago.

Today, as then, every nation is willing to abolish particular weapons if everyone else will do exactly the same thing, presumably at exactly the same time. Even if this were possible there is still no proposal for disarmament in the literal sense of "no arms".

There is, however, another meaning to the word "disarm". It is sometimes said that an angry person is "disarmed" by the goodwill, or friendliness of his opponent. It is, in fact, well-known that it is possible to disarm an enemy by the very fact of a friendly reaction.

It is, however, impossible to express friendliness and goodwill while holding an H-bomb in the hand that is needed for the green, which is a symbol of friendliness

alleviated by such comments as the Daily Telegraph leader-writer has chosen to make about Mr. Gromyko's speech. Whether the speaker was sincere or not, he is by no means the only delegate to use the Assembly as a propaganda platform.

That both the great Power blocs have every reason to mistrust each other is obvious, and it is, therefore, extremely unlikely that any proposed system of control or inspection would pass muster with all concerned, even if they sincerely desired to abolish nuclear tests and delay production.

It would be a very difficult situation for any of the major Powers today to be faced, not with a question of how many H-bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles each nation possessed, but with the accomplished fact of total disarmament by some one nation.

If, instead of the puerile exchange of childish "tit for tat" pronouncements some nation were to say: "I'm going to disarm whether you do so or not", that nation would be in a fair way to disarming its opponents as well as itself.

The idea that the unarmed nation would instantly be bombed to ruin is a quite unwarrantable assumption. The moral repugnance of the whole world at such a monstrously wanton act could not so lightly be set aside, and, by removing the threat, would be more likely to deter than thousands of hydrogen bombs.

But this would be an act of faith and has nothing at all to do with the hypocritical mouthings of Foreign Ministers and Secretaries of State, with their eyes on the limelight, at the General Assembly.

Words have lost their meaning, but actions have not; we cannot expect Russia to show the way if we have not ourselves, the courage to do so. There is a great opportunity now to do the right thing; to stop talking about disarmament, and here and now begin to abolish armaments.

IN
PEACE NEWS

NEXT WEEK

LABOUR and THE H-BOMB

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NEXT WEEK

LABOUR and THE H-BOMB

Special Peace News reports from the Labour Party Conference at Brighton

"ON BEING A PROHIBITED IMMIGRANT"

The Rev. George Houser, American expert on African affairs and race relations, tells his story to Peace News on how he was denied entry to British East and Central Africa.

REPORT FROM MALAYA

The first of three articles from Reginald Reynolds.

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"Quite apart from the question of self-preservation there is the moral issue.

"We must all ask ourselves if we personally would be prepared to drop a hydrogen bomb on a city of a million men, women and children, or release the rocket which will deliver the bomb.

"(Particularly if we knew that the inevitable and immediate reprisal would be a similar bomb on our own cities of a million men, women and children.)

"If we are not prepared to do it ourselves—and I believe that most of us would refuse to do it under any circumstances—then we have no right to instruct a young airman or technician to do it for us.

"The growth in dreadfulness of modern weapons is forcing many thinking people to accept the view expressed by Aneurin Bevan in the Suez debate in Parliament that 'our civilisation is too delicate for the use of the jackboot.'

"As Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has put it: mankind must break the thought barrier if we are to avoid extinction.

"A very great deal hangs on the decision taken by the Brighton conference this month."

NOW, read what Peace News thinks.

See "Labour and Unarmed Defence" on page four.

PN Staffman on ITV

HERMANN BRINKMANN, 80-year-old German war resister and London Peace News Staff member, has been invited to take part in Sunday's ITV programme (North and Midlands, 2 p.m.) on the threat of inflation in Britain.

He will comment on the fact that Germany has not spent large sums on arms and armies, and does not need to when she is receiving large supplies from the West. This he sees as one of the major factors for the absence of inflation there.

Today, as then, every nation is willing to abolish particular weapons if everyone else will do exactly the same thing, presumably at exactly the same time. Even if this were possible there is still no proposal for disarmament in the literal sense of "no arms".

There is, however, another meaning to the word "disarm". It is sometimes said that an angry person is "disarmed" by the goodwill, or friendliness of his opponent. It is, in fact, well-known that it is possible to disarm an enemy by the very fact of a friendly reaction.

It is, however, impossible to express friendliness and goodwill while holding an H-bomb in the hand that is needed for the grasp which is symbolic of friendship; plainly that hand must be empty of weapons.

Suspicion and mistrust are enhanced, not

★ This issue encloses our list of CHRISTMAS CARDS & GIFTS

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★ DEATH OF GRACE BEATON

GRACE BEATON, the British pacifist who used the Gestapo headquarters in Vienna for the escape of anti-Nazis and war resisters from Austria, died last week at the age of 59 after a long period of illness.

She had retired from her position as General Secretary of the War Resisters' International last year.

Joining the staff of the WRI as typist to the founder, Runham Brown, soon after the first international conference of 1925, Grace Beaton became General Secretary in 1933.

In the years before World War II, when Runham Brown and other prominent pacifists were on Hitler's black list, Grace Beaton made a number of journeys to Berlin and Vienna as a result of which it was possible for a large number of war resisters and other anti-Nazis to be brought to England.

At a meeting of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors in London last Saturday, Fenner Brockway, MP, the chairman, paid tribute to Grace Beaton's life-long battle against ill-health while serving the peace movement.

warrantable assumption. The moral repugnance of the whole world at such a monstrously wanton act could not so lightly be set aside, and, by removing the threat, would be more likely to deter than thousands of hydrogen bombs.

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